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## HENDIADYS: IS THERE SUCH A THING?

(Based on a Study of Vergil)

It was in the course of an investigation of Vergil of considerably larger scope that I became interested in the question of hendiadys. My interest was stimulated by the fact that Professor Knapp's edition of the *Aeneid*, of which I was making extensive use, nowhere mentions the term which occurs so frequently in the notes of other editors of Vergil. As one of Professor Knapp's loyal pupils, I was very eager to see whether a fairly extended and minute examination would—or would not—bear him out in his oft-repeated classroom dictum, "There is no such thing as hendiadys". Consequently I listed all the Vergilian examples that, so far as I knew, either had been, or might be, classed as instances of hendiadys, and considered each in turn.

In the first place, just what is this phenomenon—whether really existent or not—that we term hendiadys? It is defined as follows in Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Latin Grammar*, 698:

Hendiadys consists in giving an analysis instead of a complex, in putting two substantives connected by a copulative conjunction, instead of one substantive and an adjective or attributive genitive.

So far as the derivation of the term goes, there appears to be no reason why we should not include under this category the correlation of words representing practically equivalent ideas, which should, therefore, in strict logic, be placed in apposition with each other instead of being connected by a copulative. As a matter of fact, this latter case comes the nearer of the two to suiting the definition; elsewhere we note not really a single idea, but two, distinct, though not strictly parallel. On the examination of a large number of typical examples it will be found that either of the two nouns might with perfect propriety stand alone in the given context, and that it is only the combination of the two which produces an illogical effect.

Such seems to be more or less the idea of Conington, who treats 'hendiadys' with eminent sanity in his note on G.2.192:

Such figures are not so much rules which the poets followed, as helps devised by the grammarians for classifying the varieties of language in which the poets indulged. The word hendiadys indeed amounts to no more than a statement of the fact that two words are used to express one thing.

On the relation between the nouns he adds,

...no general rule can be laid down, except that the two nouns, while representing the same thing, seem

commonly to represent distinct aspects of it, so as not to run into simple tautology. For this reason they may generally be combined in translation, being resolved into a noun with its epithet, or a noun with another in the genitive.

Again, on G.4.400, he remarks that it is not sufficient to dismiss the collocation of the two nouns as a specimen of hendiadys; we must "seek for some plausible explanation. . . , as such things are not effected arbitrarily". It is the object of the present discussion to point out that, in practically every case that has been cited, or might be cited, as an instance of hendiadys, such a "plausible explanation" may easily be found.

Before entering on this task, however, we may first rapidly discuss and dismiss the other form of hendiadys, which, as a matter of fact, is nothing but what Professor Knapp<sup>2</sup> and others call "parallelism"—a marked characteristic of primitive poetry, and of the conventional epic which tends to preserve the traditional form of primitive poetry. Such parallelism may be accompanied by alliteration, as in the common expressions "house and home", "might and main"; compare 6.615<sup>3</sup> *forma. . . fortunave*. Even here, however, the term hendiadys would appear to be a misnomer, inasmuch as the nouns are very seldom absolutely equivalent. They are nearly so, perhaps, in 6.298 *aquas et flumina*, 1.258-259 *urbem et. . . moenia*, 9.306-307 *pellem. . . -que leonis exuvias*<sup>4</sup>, though even here there is present a slight shade of differentiation, and elsewhere the difference is more noticeable.

Very often, for instance, a collective singular and a plural are combined. Some expressions of this sort—e. g. 2.580 *Iliadum turba et Phrygiis. . . ministris*, 4.544 *Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum*—no one would dream of calling hendiadys, because there is no conceivable way of subordinating one member to the other; yet, if we remove either *Iliadum* or *Phrygiis* from the first example, and *meorum* from the second (as we could without altering the sense), we should certainly have an instance which might be called hendiadys with as much justice as any of the following: G.1.346 *chorus et socii*, 11.533 *virginibus sociis sacraque caterva*, 11.92 *phalanx Teucrique*, 11.305-306 *gente deorum invictisque viris*, 11.234 *concilium. . . primosque*, 12.248-249 *litoreas. . . aves turbamque. . . agminis aligeri*, G.4.395 *armenta et. . . phocas*, 11.207 *cetera. . . -que acervum*. Take, for instance, the first of these, 1.346. Each idea is here independently

<sup>2</sup>In his edition, § 222.

<sup>3</sup>References like this are to the *Aeneid*. To other references E. or G. will be prefixed, for *Eclogues* and *Georgics* respectively.

<sup>4</sup>In 5.85, *gyri* and *volumina*, without a connective, are made parallel. Conington says they are "probably the same", but Wagner makes a distinction between them.

<sup>5</sup>This paper was read at the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of The Classical Association of the Atlantic States, at Hunter College, April 22, 1921.

important; those surrounding the victim are both to sing (*chorus*) and to accompany it (*socii*). *Chorus sociorum* would not give the same effect.

We note the combination of an abstract and a concrete term in 11.337 *obliqua invidia stimulisque*. . . *amaris*; of the figurative and the literal in 8.713 *caeruleum in gremium latebrosa que flumina*. Often a particularly specific concrete is used with a more general abstract, with which it is in exegetical relation, as in 8.464 *sermonum*. . . *et promissi muneris*, 10.187-188 *pennae*. . . *-que insigne*, 12. 945-946 *monumenta*. . . *exuviasque*, 5.47 *reliquias*. . . *-que ossa*, 8. 289 *monstra*. . . *-que*. . . *anguis*. Sometimes a similar union of a more specific and a less specific term is attained by the use of a common and a proper noun, as in 3. 442 *lacus et Averna*, 1.111 *brevia et Syrtis*<sup>5</sup>, 4.355 *regno Hesperiae*. . . *et*. . . *arvis*. The more specific term may likewise be the more forceful, in which case, when it is placed second, there is attained a striking effect of suspense and climax which would be lost were the one subordinated to the other. We may note here 1.61 *molemque et montis*, 'a mass, even a mountain', and 2.116 *sanguine*. . . *et virgine caesa*, 'by blood, even by the slaying of a maiden'.

At times the more specific noun serves to show the particular use to which the object indicated by the less specific noun is put: 8.241-242 *specus et*. . . *regia*, 2.722 *veste*. . . *-que*. . . *pelle*, 8.177 *toro et*. . . *pelle*, 9.334 *terra torique*, perhaps 8.388 *chlamyde et*. . . *armis*<sup>6</sup>. Sometimes the more specific noun belongs to the class indicated by the more general one, that is, the two are not mutually exclusive. 5.410 *caestus ipsius et Herculis arma* is an example of this; so is 8.220 *arma*. . . *-que*. . . *robur*, if Hercules's arms included a bow and arrow as well as a club. If, on the other hand, his arms consisted solely of a club, we still have so-called hendiadys, but of a quite different type. It consists in uniting as parallel two nouns one of which describes the shape, type, or use of a given object, the other its material. Such a usage sometimes appears very closely to resemble mere parallelism, as in 9.569 (repeated in 10.698) *saxo atque*. . . *fragmine montis*. But that this contains two ideas seems proved by the closely parallel passage, 12.531 *scopulo atque*. . . *turbine saxi*. Had *saxi* been omitted here, there is no doubt that many would have wanted to reduce the phrase to the far less picturesque *scopuli turbine*; yet really we need both the concrete *scopulo*, the material with which the result was achieved, and the abstract *turbine*, the motion which also played a part in obtaining this result.

Further instances are 7.751 *fronde*. . . *et*. . . *comptus oliva*, 8.315 *truncis et*. . . *robore nata*, 11.554 *libro et*. . . *subere clausam*. Take the second of these as a typical example. Either *truncis nata* or *robore nata* might stand alone; Vergil unites the two.

In these three instances the combination is a natural one. But where we have reference to an artificially-

fashioned article and to the material of which it is fashioned, the so-called hendiadys is more noticeable. Yet examples of this type may be treated in just the same way as 8.315. Let us consider as a general example G.2.192 *pateris libamus et auro*. Here Vergil has two distinct and equally important ideas in mind—the vessel's suitability for libation because of its style, and its suitability because of its material. *Pateris libamus* might, of course, have stood alone. Could Vergil with equal readiness have said *auro libamus*? Yes, he could; for he does, in 7.245, *auro libabat*.

We can treat in just the same way 11.228 *dona neque aurum*, G.4.99 *auro et*. . . *guttis*, 3.467 *hamis auroque*, 5.259 *hamis*. . . *auroque*, 8.436 *squamis*. . . *auroque*, 9.707 *duplici squama*. . . *et auro*, 5.366 *auro vittisque*, 1.648 *signis auroque*, 9.26 *pictai vestis et auri*, 7.142 *radiis*. . . *lucis et auro*, 1.293 *ferro et compagibus*, 12.712 *clipeis atque aere*, E.5.90 *nodis atque aere*, 9.743 *nodis et cortice*, G.1.173-174 *fagus stivaque*, 9.105 *pice*. . . *atraque voragine*.

We may examine in detail one or two of these instances. In 9.707 the *lorica* is made more *fidelis* by the fact that it has double scales, and by the fact that the material used in these scales is gold. In 1.648 and 9.26 both the embroidery and the gold used therein add to the richness and the beauty of the objects described.

A material or ingredient is combined with a process in G.3.380 *fermento atque*. . . *sorbis*; with a color in 7.277 *ostro*. . . *pictisque tapetis*, which recalls the famous 'purple and fine linen', or the passage in Exodus 26.1, 'Thou shalt make the tabernacle with ten curtains of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet'. A color figures, too, in 10.722 *pennis*. . . *et ostro*, 11. 772 *ferrugine*. . . *et ostro*, G.3.56 *maculis*. . . *et albo*. Note in regard to the last example that both the spots and the whiteness are conspicuous.

Many of the above examples consist of the combination of a concrete and an abstract term. This collocation is extremely common in Latin, especially in Vergil, and does not seem to have made upon the Roman mind the anomalous and even ludicrous impression which in English it frequently produces on us. It is, perhaps, our different point of view which leads us to see in many instances of this sort the phenomenon known as hendiadys. Those recorded here may also be dealt with after the method applied above. Thus in 8.226-227, *saxum ferro quod et arte paterna pendebat*, both the iron chains and the art with which they were attached kept the stone hanging. Similarly, 5.431, *membris et mole valens*, may be resolved into *membris valens* and *mole valens*. It is only from our point of view, not from Vergil's, that it seems more natural to combine the two into some such complex as 'strong limbs' or 'strength of limbs'. We may compare 5.407-408 *pondus et*. . . *volumina*. Other examples are 8.685 *ope*. . . *-que*. . . *armis*, 8.617 *donis et*. . . *laetus honore*, 5.399 *pretio*. . . *pulchroque iuvenco*. On the second of these we may note that there are two factors which produce Aeneas's

<sup>5</sup>So Conington. But Hirtzel (Oxford Classical Text), Ribbeck (Teubner Text), and Professor Knapp all print *syrtis* as a common noun.

<sup>6</sup>See Conington on the passage.



happiness: the honor of receiving divine gifts at all, and the specific character of these gifts.

Sometimes the abstract is a verbal noun, as G.2.160 fluctibus et fremitu, 1.715 complexu. . . colloque, 5.36 adventum. . . -que rates, 11.469 concilium. . . et. . . incepta. Observe in connection with 5.36 that we may say either *miratus rates*, 'wondering to see the boats', or *miratus adventum*, 'wondering to see the boats back'.

Sometimes the concrete noun seems to serve practically as the type or symbol or visible manifestation of the abstract (here we approach parallelism again), as in 10.460 hospitium et mensas, 1.545 (also 4.615, 7.235) bello. . . et armis, 2.36 insidias. . . -que dona, 11.704 consilio. . . et astu, G.4.399 vim. . . et vincula, 9.598 obsidione. . . valloque, 5.484 caestus artemque, 5.521 artemque. . . arcumque. On G.4.399-400 vim. . . et vincula. . . tende, Conington admirably points out that either *tende vim* or *tende vincula* might stand alone. As a matter of fact, both these means in the capture of Proteus are necessary; the need for each has been specifically stressed in the same passage (*vi* in 398, *vinclis* in 396).

Occasionally there seems to be a sort of combination of the objective and the subjective. Thus, in G.2.197 saltus. . . et longinqua and 8.463 sedem et secreta, a simple word referring to a place is made coordinate with an epithet to be applied to that place from the particular point of view of the person concerned. In 7.79, *inlustrem fama fatisque*, 8.731, *famamque et fata*, and 8.287-288, *laudes. . . et facta ferunt*, personal exploits are grouped with the fame that they cause to spread abroad. *Fama fatisque*, in the first of these passages, Conington paraphrases by *claris factis*; but certainly *inlustrem fama* and *inlustrem factis* are both important.

Again, in 11.539, *ob invidiam. . . viresque superbas*, we have an example of a subjective term, *vires superbas*, made parallel with its more objective result, *invidiam*. On the other hand, it is often the objective element that produces the subjective, as in G.2.491 metus. . . et. . . fatum, 4.693-694 *dolorem difficilisque obitus*, G.3.226 *ignominiam plagasque*, 10.755-756 *luctus et. . . funera*, 1.636 *munera laetitiamque*, 7.172 *horrendum silvis et religione*—the last four are all examples of the combination of a concrete cause and an abstract consequence. The cases are reversed in 8.60 *iramque minasque*, 2.413 *gemitu atque. . . ira*, 7.15 *gemitus iraeque*, 5.148 *plausu fremituque. . . studiisque*, 8.717 *laetitia ludisque. . . plausuque*, 11.736 in *Venerem. . . nocturna que bella*—all examples of an abstract internal force producing a concrete external result.

An interesting case in which a subjective and an objective term react on each other is 9.354 *caede atque cupidine*. Conington compares *caedis cupido*, which occurs elsewhere in Vergil (9.760), but surely the form in 9.354 is far more picturesque. Euryalus is borne along on his murderous way, and with each successive act of slaughter his lust for blood is proportionately strengthened. The *caedes* produces the *cupido* just as much as the *cupido* produces the *caedes*.

Here, too, we may note such expressions as 'drinking in water and oblivion' and 'partaking of food and strength'—6.715 *latices et. . . oblivia potant*, G.1.86-87 *vires et pabula. . . concipiunt*. This union of a cause and an effect, as though they were coordinate, is extremely common. Compare further 11.729 *caedes cedentiaque agmina*, E.2.8 *umbras et frigora captant*, 10.190 *frondes umbramque*, G.3.418 *tecto. . . et umbrae*, 6.734 *tenebris et carcere caeco*, G.1.325 *sata. . . boumque labores*, 1.504 *instans operi regnisque futuris*, 1.210 *praedae. . . dapibusque futuris*. Observe, on E.2.8, that we may court either shade or coolness; on 1.504, which Conington translates by "urging on the work which was to set up her kingdom", that Dido has two equally important thoughts in her mind—the work, the means, and the kingdom, the end (in urging on one, she likewise urged on the other).

One member may actually be made from, or out of, the other—E.8.95 *herbas atque. . . venena*, G.4.39 *fuco. . . et floribus*, 11.64 *cratis et. . . feretrum*.

Sometimes one thing is accomplished or attained by means of another—8.201 *auxilium adventumque dei*, G.2.46 *ambages et longa exorsa*, 10.422 *fortunam atque viam*. This last Nettleship calls hendiadys; yet he cites parallels for this use both of *fortunam* and of *viam* and does not see how he weakens his own case.

One term may give an opportunity for the existence or the practice of the other—9.150 *tenebras et inertia furta*, 4.433 *requiem spatiumque*, 4.423 *vir. . . aditus et tempora*. This last Conington paraphrases by *tempora viri adeundi*. Yet there are two distinct ideas: one must know both *when* and *how* to approach him.

One term—usually abstract—may be manifested in another—usually concrete—which it causes or at least balances. Thus in 2.336, *dictis et numine divum*, while it is doubtless true, as Conington says, that in Panthus's words is declared the will of heaven, yet the coordination seems very desirable for the sake of the balance attained of agencies human and divine. Compare further 11.233 *ira deum tumulique*, 7.769 *herbis et amore Dianae*, 3.256 *fames. . . -que iniuria*, 8.326-327 *aetas et belli rabies et amor. . . habendi*, G.3.561 *morbo inluvieque*. 3.256 may be taken as a good example of these: the direct cause of the Trojans' suffering is their *fames*, the fundamental or ultimate cause the *iniuria* which caused the existence of this *fames*.

Very similar to the combination of the immediate and the primal cause is the combination of the immediate and the primal means. Thus in 6.230, *spargens rore. . . et ramo*, the real sprinkling is, of course, with the dew; but the branch is the instrument by which this sprinkling with the dew is done. Either *spargens rore* or *spargens ramo* might stand alone. In G.2.378-379 *greges durique venenum dentis*, the goat works disaster through his poisonous bite.

The physical or mental agency that directs a certain instrument is frequently made coordinate with it, as in 5.640 *faces animumque*, 5.684 *vires. . . infusaque flumina*, 6.57 *tela manusque*, G.4.525 *vox ipsa et. . .*

lingua, 3.457 vocem. . . atque ora resolut. 6.57 does not mean the hand fixing the arrow or the arrow fixed by the hand; it means that Apollo guided both the hand as it aimed, and the arrow after it left the hand.

Similar, especially to the last two examples, is the combination as parallels of a sound and that which produces it, in passages where either one alone would be quite satisfactory, as in 5.152 turbam. . . fremitumque, G.4.151 sonitus crepitantiaque aera, 8.531 sonitum et. . . promissa, 12.869 stridorem agnovit et alas, 12.876-877 alarum verbera. . . -que sonum, 11.801-802 nec aurae nec sonitus memor aut venientis. . . teli. Nettleship considers 12.869, stridorem et alas, a poetical variant for *stridentes alas*.

As a matter of fact, did not Iuturna recognize two things by two different senses—the sound of the wings, and the look of the wings themselves? Similarly in 11.801-802 each member is, I believe absolutely independent, and refers to a separate sense-domain: Camilla fails to feel the breeze that the passage of the arrow through the air makes, and fails to hear the whiz of the arrow as it rushes through the air, and does not see the arrow itself as it approaches the end of its journey.

What has been said of the realm of sound applies likewise to that of sight. Here we may note 2.470 telis et luce. . . aena and 4.167 fulsere ignes et aether—the latter (which Conington, following Wagner, paraphrases by *fulsit aether ignibus*) is a particularly interesting and excellent example of the so-called hendiadys. We may say either *fulsere ignes*, 'the lightning flashed', or *fulsit aether*, 'the air flashed' (of course *ignibus*, 'with the lightning'). Vergil simply makes parallel the two objects that flashed, regardless of the fact that one did its flashing directly and actively, the other indirectly and passively.

Another type of combination of non-parallel nouns which is likewise fruitful in the production of the so-called hendiadys is the grouping of two terms which are not mutually exclusive, inasmuch as the larger includes the smaller. There are countless examples of this in Vergil, and almost any of them might be designated hendiadys, though, so far as I know, only a comparatively few have been. For instance, 2.296 vittas Vestamque, which Conington terms hendiadys, is not perceptibly different from 8.663-664 Salios. . . -que Lupercos. . . -que apices, which he does not so class. In both cases a particular article of attire, because of its religious significance, has been deemed important enough to be singled out from the rest and mentioned along with the venerable personage who wore it.

The part may be a moral quality, as in 1.566 virtutesque virosque, which Wagner calls a hendiadys, but which Conington very sensibly considers to mean "the gallant deeds and the heroes", both being important factors in the success of the Trojans. Or it may be a physical member, as in 11.22 socios inhumataque corpora, which is taken by Conington as a hendiadys, regardless of the fact that here again we have two ideas of equal force in causing the poignancy of the situation. It is sad that the bodies need burial,

and sadder still because they are the bodies of our comrades. This is no more hendiadys than 10.571 equos. . . -que pectora.

Other combinations of part and whole that have been classed as examples of hendiadys are 7.658 centum angues cinctamque serpentibus Hydram, 9.359-360 phaleras. . . et. . . cingula, 7.665 mucrone veruque. Yet these differ in no essential way from 8.433 currumque rotasque and 12.379 rota. . . et. . . concitus axis, which, so far as I know, have not been pronounced instances of hendiadys.

A person may be combined with the affairs of which he or she constitutes the most important item or detail, as in 8.550 rerumque patrisque; or with the place which he or she occupies, as in 7.775 Egeriae nemorique. Place and occupant are treated as independent in 2.319 arcis Phoebeique and G.4.56 progeniem nidosque, neither of which, I fancy, would any one think of calling hendiadys. But it would be very easy to treat as hendiadys 9.454-456 concursus ad corpora. . . -que locum—the bodies are *in* the spot—and 9.695 ad portam fratresque—the brothers are *near* the gate. Yet no one, so far as I know, has done so. Why, then, call G.2.394, lances. . . et liba, hendiadys because the cakes are *on* the trays? They are both carried just the same.

In conclusion we may note a few special cases of hendiadys which for various reasons it seemed convenient to group here. First of all we may observe a few examples in which the two members have a distinct chronological relationship which would be lost were the one made dependent upon the other. I have in mind 11.494 in pastus armentaque. . . equarum (one first enters the pasture, then actually mingles with the animals therein); 6.255 lumina solis et ortus (one sees the light of the sun *before* the actual sunrise); 11.348 arma. . . mortemque minetur (two distinct threats are defied: 'let him attack, let him even kill me'; it is merely chance that the second danger is consequent upon the first); 9.204 Aenean et fata extrema secutus (this is just as much—or as little—hendiadys as the preceding example. The loyal Euryalus is ready to follow his leader—yes, to follow him even to the death).

Some further miscellaneous examples follow. On 10.13, exitium magnum atque Alpes inmittit apertas, Conington says, "It is through the opened Alps that destruction comes". Yet are there not really two perils—Hannibal, the scourge himself, a danger anywhere and everywhere, and that further miracle that so terrified the Romans, the passage of the Alps? G.2.477, caeli. . . vias et sidera, Conington renders by "the stars in their courses through heaven"; but surely there are two distinct sources of investigation—(1) the stars themselves, their physical composition, their size, their location, and so on, (2) the paths in heaven which the stars—and perhaps other bodies, too—follow in their course. Compare also G.3.202-203 metas et maxima campi. . . spatia (there are two difficulties: the test of skill, the goals themselves, which it is so hard, and so essential, to round successfully; and the test of speed, the great length of the

course); 10.695 vim. . . atque minas perfert (there are two things to endure); 7.203 haut vinco nec legibus (the existence of the laws, and the binding compulsion which they exert, may be quite separate—as a modern civilization can testify); 9.603-604 natos. . . gelu duramus et undis (there are two sources of discomfort, either or both a menace to less sturdy children—the actual waters, and their cold temperature); G.2.174 res. . . laudis et artis (this means neither praise by means of art, nor art in praise. The two genitives are quite independent, though not strictly parallel. Vergil might have said either *res laudis*, 'a work that has obtained glory', the genitive being objective, or *res artis*, 'a work produced by art', the genitive being subjective. He chooses to fuse the two); 7.577 in crimine caedis et igni (Conington translates for "in the midst of the outcry at the slaughter", but here again, if we consider the two members separately, we shall see that the expression need not be so tortured. We might have alone in *crimine caedis*, 'the outcry over the slaughter', objective genitive, or in *igni caedis*, 'the heat, the tumult, of the slaughter', subjective genitive. *Crimine* suggests the noise, *igni* the general appearance and atmosphere); G.3.163 studium atque usum. . . agrestem (the subjective desire for farm labor, and the objective practice that produces the knowledge and ability necessary for success, are really distinct. It is not enough that the spirit be willing, the flesh must not be weak).

I close this survey in the hope that my hearers will agree with me that, whenever Vergil chooses to write as though he had two ideas, he really did have two, and that, accordingly, the term hendiadys is a misnomer, and the phenomenon which it is supposed to describe is non-existent.

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E. ADELAIDE HAHN

### THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY AGAIN

(Concluded from page 190)

The Bibliotheca of Apollodorus has been translated, in two volumes, by Sir James G. Frazer (the translator of Pausanias, and the author of *The Golden Bough*). The Introduction (ix-xliii) deals with The Author and his Book (ix-xxiii), Manuscripts and Editions (xxiii-xliii). A summary of the contents of the seven books of the Library is then given (xlv-lviii). A very elaborate Appendix (2.309-455) deals with themes suggested by various parts of Apollodorus's work:

I. Putting Children on the Fire (311-317); II. War of Earth on Heaven (318-326); III. Myths of the Origin of Fire (326-350); IV. Melampus and the Kine of Phylacus (350-355); V. The Clashing Rocks (355-358); VI. The Renewal of Youth (359-362); VII. The Resurrection of Glaucus (363-370); VIII. The Legend of Oedipus (370-376); IX. Apollo and the Kine of Admetus (376-383); X. The Marriage of Peleus and Thetis (383-388); XI. Phaethon and the Chariot of the Sun (388-394); XII. The Vow of Idomeneus (394-404); XIII. Ulysses and Polyphemus (404-455).

Professor Frazer thinks that Apollodorus wrote his Library at some time in either the first or the second

century of our era. Of the man himself we know nothing. Of the Library, Professor Frazer writes as follows (I.xvii):

... <it is> a plain unvarnished summary of Greek myths, and heroic legends, as these were recorded in literature; for the writer makes no claim to draw on oral tradition, nor is there the least evidence or probability that he did so; it may be taken as certain that he derived all his information from books alone. But he used excellent authorities and followed them faithfully, reporting, but seldom or never attempting to explain or reconcile, their discrepancies and contradictions. Hence his book possesses documentary value as an accurate record of what the Greeks in general believed about the origin and early history of the world and of their race.

Professor Frazer sees also in the Library of Apollodorus the element of folk-lore (xxvii-xxxi). He defines myths as "mistaken explanations of phenomena, whether of human life or of external nature" (xxvii); legends (xxviii-xxix) as

traditions, whether oral or written, which relate to the fortunes of a real people in the past, or which describe events, not necessarily human, that are said to have occurred at real places. Such legends contain a mixture of truth and falsehood, for were they wholly true, they would not be legends but histories;

and folk-tales (xxix) as

narratives invented by persons unknown and handed down at first by word of mouth from generation to generation, narratives which, though they profess to describe actual occurrences, are in fact purely imaginary, having no other aim than the entertainment of the hearer and making no real claim on his credulity. In short, they are fictions pure and simple, devised not to instruct or edify the listener, but only to amuse him; they belong to the region of pure romance.

If these definitions are right

... we may say that myth has its source in reason, legend in memory, and folk-tale in imagination; and that the three riper products of the human mind which correspond to these its crude creations are science, history, and romance.

On pages xlv-lviii, in the Summary, the contents of the Library are grouped by Professor Frazer as follows:

I. Theogony <1.1-6<sup>1</sup>>; II. The Family of Deucalion <1.7-9>; III. The Family of Inachus (Belus) <2.1-8>; IV. The Family of Agenor (Europa) <3.1-2>; V. The Family of Agenor (Cadmus) <3.4-7>; VI. The Family of Pelasgus <3.8-9>; VII. The Family of Atlas <3.10-12.6>; VIII. The Family of Asopus <3.12.6-13>; IX. The Kings of Athens <3.14-15>; X. Theseus <3.16. Epitome 1.1-24>; XI. The Family of Pelops <Epitome 2.1-16>; XII. Antehomerica <Epitome 3.1-35>; XIII. The "Iliad" <Epitome 4.1-8>; XIV. Posthomerica <Epitome 5.1-25>; XV. The Returns <Epitome 6.1-30>; XVI. The Wanderings of Ulysses <Epitome 7.1-40>.

Surely there is here for teachers, especially of Homer, Vergil, and Ovid, a wealth of material.

Professor Frazer has appended to the pages of the translation many notes in which he gives references to the principle passages of other ancient writers where each story is told; often, too, he indicates how far Apollodorus agrees with these other authors or differs

<sup>1</sup>The figures in angular brackets give the parts of the Bibliotheca involved.



from them. These references will enable one to make most interesting studies, comparative in nature, of the work of various authors.

It happens that I can illustrate, from a recent personal experience, the way in which the Library of Apollodorus can be made useful, especially to teachers of Vergil. A young woman, a student in a High School in Homestead, Pennsylvania, wrote me to ask the authority for the statement contained in my note on Aeneid 3.212, that "there were three Harpies". She stated that "the class, and instructress, and other members of the faculty, had always been under the impression that there were a number of these creatures—a *turba*, as Vergil himself puts it". Of the six or seven authorities consulted by them, only one, Anthon's Vergil, over one hundred years old, gave any definite number of Harpies.

I answered this letter at once. In order to do so, I consulted fifteen or twenty different books. I found that Conington gave the number of the Harpies as three, but it appeared, on examination of his note, that he had confused the earlier aspect of the Harpies, as wind-goddesses, with the version of them given in Apollonius Rhodius (2.188–300), and in Vergil, Aeneid 3. So I searched further. I discovered that the editors of the Aeneid had been more diplomatic and discreet than I, because they did not commit themselves on this subject. I wrote to my correspondent that the word *turba* had no bearing, really, on the number of the Harpies, because, though the word often enough, and perhaps usually, suggested a crowd, its connotation had to do very frequently with the behavior of the persons whom it described rather than with their number. I remarked also that to excited persons, such as the Trojans were at this time, three creatures like the Harpies would surely seem a *turba*, from several points of view at once. I found that in Pauly-Wissowa, Encyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, in the article Harpyien, the number of the Harpies in the Phineus-Harpies story is given as *two*, regularly, and their names were stated to be Aello and Okypete. I found also that Servius, in his note on Aeneid 3.209, gives the number of Harpies as three, and names them as Aello, Okypete, and Celaeno. But there is a good deal of foolishness, it seems to me, in parts of his rather lengthy note. I searched the pages of Apollodorus, and found the following passage, 1.9.21 (I use Professor Frazer's version):

Thence they put to sea and came to land at Salmydessus in Thrace, where dwelt Phineus, a seer who had lost the sight of both eyes. Some say he was a son of Agenor, but others that he was a son of Poseidon, and he is variously alleged to have been blinded by the gods for foretelling men the future; or by Boreas and the Argonauts because he blinded his own sons at the instigation of their stepmother; or by Poseidon, because he revealed to the children of Phrixus how they could sail from Colchis to Greece. The gods also sent the Harpies to him. These were winged female creatures, and when a table was laid for Phineus, they flew down from the sky and snatched up most of the victuals, and what little they left stank so that nobody could touch it. When the Argonauts would have consulted him about the voyage, he said that he would advise

them about it if they would rid him of the Harpies. So the Argonauts laid a table with viands beside him, and the Harpies with a shriek suddenly pounced down and snatched away the food. When Zetes and Calais, the sons of Boreas, saw that, they drew their swords, and, being winged, pursued them through the air. Now it was fated that the Harpies should perish by the sons of Boreas, and that the sons of Boreas should die when they could not catch a fugitive. So the Harpies were pursued and one of them fell into the river Tigres in Peloponnese, the river that is now called Harpys after her; some call her Nicthoe, but others Aellopus. But the other, named Okypete or, according to others, Ocythoe (but Hesiod calls her Ocyope), fled by the Propontis till she came to the Echinadian Islands, which are now called Strophades after her; for when she came to them she turned. . . and being at the shore fell for very weariness with her pursuer. But Apollonius in the *Argonautica* says that the Harpies were pursued to the Strophades Islands and suffered no harm, having sworn an oath that they would wrong Phineus no more.

Apollodorus gives the number of the Harpies distinctly as but two. He gives two varying names for each. In consequence, it would be easy to get the impression of a host of Harpies, especially if one thought of all their names, and did not realize that, in Apollodorus, the four names mean only two Harpies. I finally hazarded the guess that Vergil had the two-Harpies story in mind, but made a very effective variation of it by adding the prophetic Celaeno. Lastly, getting interested in the matter and studying it further, I found representations from Greek days of the sons of Boreas killing the Harpies (see Baumeister, Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums, in the article Phineus). In two of these there were two sons of Boreas and two Harpies. To sum up, then, it would seem that I had authority enough for stating in my note on Aeneid 3.209, that "there were <to Vergil> three Harpies".

Many will hail with delight the fact that two volumes of the translation of Herodotus, covering Books 1–4, have appeared. The translation is by a thoroughly competent scholar, A.D. Godley, Hon. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. In the General Introduction (1.vii–xviii), Mr. Godley writes briefly of Herodotus's life and work, and defends his reputation. Herodotus gives the best that was accessible to him; he "does not give it uncritically" (xii). One reason why Herodotus's narrative has been so often suspected is that, though he "has undoubtedly learnt much from documents engraved or written" (xiv), he "will not support his credit by producing his proofs. . . ; for the most part his *fontes* are included under 'what he has heard' . . .".

To the first volume of the translation of Ausonius, by Hugh G. Evelyn White, reference was made in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 13.170. The second volume has now appeared. This contains renderings of The Epistles (3–153); Epigrams on Various Matters (154–217); The Thanksgiving of Ausonius of Bordeaux. . . for his Consulship, Addressed to the Emperor Gratian (218–269); Appendix to Ausonius (271–291), giving versions of various ancient poems, ordinarily edited with the works of Ausonius, but in reality of unknown authority. These include the Septem



Sapientium Sententiae; De Rosis Nascentibus; Sulpicia Queritur De Statu Rei Publicae et Temporibus Domitiani. Finally, the volume contains a translation of the Eucharisticus of Paulinus Pellaeus (304-351).

Professor John C. Rolfe, of the University of Pennsylvania, again appears as a contributor to the Library, this time as a translator of Sallust. Since there was no satisfactory text of Sallust, Professor Rolfe made his own. The Introduction deals with The Life and Works of Sallust (ix-xviii); The Pseudo-Sallustian Works (xviii-xix); The Manuscripts (xix-xxi); Bibliographical Notes (xxii). Versions are given of the Bellum Catilinae (2-129); Bellum Iugurthinum (132-381); Orations and Letters from the Histories (384-441); Pseudo-Sallustian Works (444-521). The last named division includes A Speech to Caesar, In his Old Age, On the State (444-461); Letter to Caesar On the State (462-491); An Invective Against Marcus Tullius (492-501); An Invective Against Sallust (502-521).

Professor H. E. Butler, of London University, well known as author of a volume entitled Post-Augustan Poetry, as translator of Apuleius, as author of an annotated edition of Propertius, and, recently, of an edition of Aeneid 6, offers, in four volumes, a complete translation of Quintilian. The Introduction to the work is altogether negligible (i. vii-ix). It would be easy to supplement and correct the Bibliography (xi-xiii). Professor Butler mentions the edition of Cicero, Brutus, by G. D. Kellogg, (Boston, 1889). He should have added that by K. W. Piderit<sup>3</sup>, done by W. Friedrich (Leipzig, Teubner, 1889). In listing works on the history of Latin Rhetoric and Education, he names Norden, Antike Kunstprosa, 1898; there is a later edition. So, too, he names Volkmann, Die Rhetorik der Griechen und Römer, 1885. My copy of the third edition is dated in 1901. Mr. Butler does not deign to give first names of authors. In brief, then, this Introduction is extremely poor, at the other—and most undesirable—extreme from those in the Loeb Library translations of Menander, Apollodorus, and Sallust.

A new rendering of the Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian is to be welcomed, because the last previous English translation was that in the Bohn Library, by J. S. Watson (I do not know when this was published. Professor Butler says of it, "reprinted in 1903". I have a copy, in two volumes, dated 1892, 1895).

C. K.

## REVIEWS

Greeks And Barbarians. By J. A. K. Thomson. London: George Allen and Unwin, Limited; New York: The Macmillan Company (1921). Pp. 218.

The talented young Oxonian, Professor Thomson, has already two notable volumes of essays to his credit—Studies in the Odyssey, and The Greek Tra-

dition. Some of us had the pleasure of hearing a part of the material of this third work, Greeks and Barbarians, when Mr. Thomson was teaching in this country. To that residence here, it may be, are due a few bits of American slang which we hope will not too greatly shock the sensibilities of his British reviewers. They are easily forgotten amid the other qualities of his style—the fine taste in translation, the swift and sure strokes of description, the tempered sentiment and wise reflection, the gleams of Scottish humor, all revealing a hand which has gained increased power; while the wide choice of illustration exhibits a degree of learning which might well be envied by older scholars.

The book attempts to set forth in a clearer light that antithesis of Greek and Barbarian on which Thucydides first insisted, "the conflict . . . between the disciplined and the undisciplined temper, the constructive and the destructive soul". Surely no theme could afford more profitable discussion in times like those in which we are now living. Mr. Thomson continues the English tradition begun by Grote, the faculty of sensing all that is original and inspiring in Greek notions of liberty. He readily acknowledges and correctly appraises its mistakes and excesses, but he is unwilling to draw from them, as some German historians have done, the inference that popular government is unsafe and unabiding. Greek liberty, as he understands it, is liberty under the reign of law and order, and in this sense the "civilization-heroes" of Greek mythology, like Heracles, become champions for the cause of justice. Lest any one think that such an ideal leads to a stodgy immobility, let him read the conclusion of the chapter on Eleutheria. "Defense of law and order seemed *the most romantic thing a man could do*" (the italics are mine).

In seven chapters the antithesis between Greek and Barbarian is developed and illustrated: in the physical conflict of the Persian Wars; in the insistent claim of Freedom upon the Greek intellect and imagination, whereas among the Barbarians "all are slaves of one"; in the spirit of adventure which carried the Greeks into varied riches of experience, while the Barbarian stood still; in the Greek virtue of Sophrosyne, of wise and rational restraint, curbing those same emotions to which the Barbarian gave free rein; in the totally different belief of the Greeks about the gods, which may be allegorized in the battle between the gods and the Titans; and, finally, in the ever-recurrent difference between the Classic and the Romantic, a difference which the author lights up with new reflections, discarding the cut and dried methods so prevalent in modern books of disposing of the two concepts.

Nowhere does the method of the book show to better advantage than in the discussion of the Prometheus story. In all the weary pages of criticism and speculation which I have read concerning the conflict between the hero and Zeus, I have found no more discerning interpretation than that which Mr. Thomson offers here. It is again the case of Aeschylus vs. Shelley, but the Greek solution is revealed by a new

array of historical and ethical facts as convincingly triumphant over the Englishman's.

One of the most instructive chapters corrects and qualifies Matthew Arnold's well-known distinction between Greek and Celt, a distinction which he enforced by the term Titanism, expressing the Celtic extravagance and heedlessness of restraint, and fondness for hyperbolic speech and metaphor. Mr. Thomson is able, of course, to point to many examples of Titanism in Greek letters. But in all cases it is a difference of method and of emphasis that is involved, rather than a complete opposition in kind. Titanism appeals to the Romantic, and he surrenders to its fascination. The Greek feels the attraction as vividly, but he fights against it.

Particularly illuminating is the explanation of the Greek motto, 'Nothing too much'. The impressionability of the Greeks, Mr. Thomson maintains, constantly tempted them in the direction of excess, and only their artistic temperament—much over-worked term—kept them from the licence of the Romantics. That Plato understood this, even better than Aristotle, is shown by his emphasis on the virtue, or rather virtues, of *Sophrosyne*, and this accounts for the small honor which he accords to emotion in human psychology. It is the 'tyrant', according to Plato, who gives his emotions unrestrained play.

There is just enough of the controversial and doubtful in some of Mr. Thomson's theses to stimulate thought on the part of the reader. Thus, when he says that the community-feeling in the Greek was so strong that "there was a sense in which in an ancient Agon everybody won", it seems to me that this statement might have been qualified so as to apply more strictly to the fifth century than to the fourth, when both Plato and Aristotle were protesting against the self-centered, individualistic tendencies of the citizen.

Why is it that American scholars can not or will not write such books? Is it because American publishers would fight shy of them? Signs are not wanting of a revival of Greek. It is high time that the scholar descend from his pedestal and satisfy the new curiosity.

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#### CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS VII

Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature—Sept. 15, Plaute, Histoire de la Comédie Romaine, G. Michaut, reviewed by P. de Labriolle.

Revue des Études Grecques, XXXIII, 151—Le Conseil Athénien des Cinq Cents et la Peine de Mort, P. Cloche.

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions—Jan.-Apr., La Légende d'Octave-Auguste, Dieu, Sauveur, et Maître du Monde, W. Deonna; Minucius Felix et Tertullien, Th. Reinach; Archéologie Thrace, G. Seure, reviewed by J. Ebersolt [the book is a résumé of archaeological activity in Thrace, 1911-1913].

Revue de Synthèse Historique—XXXI, 91-93, Quelques Ouvrages Récents Relatifs à l'Histoire du Néoplatisme, P. Masson-Oursel.

Revue Générale—Oct. 15, Le Temple de Phigalie, Joseph Mélot [deals with travels in the Peloponnese].

Revue Historique—July-August, Les Privilèges Administratifs du Sénat Romain sous l'Empire et leur Disparition Graduelle au Cours du III<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Leon Homo; Römische Geschichte, L. M. Hartman and J. Kromayer, reviewed by Ch. Lécivain; Der Feldzug von Dyrrachium Zwischen Caesar und Pompejus, Georg Veith, reviewed by Ch. Lécivain.

Revue Universitaire—Oct., Latin et Méthode Directe, P. Midant. [These points are considered: (1) Pourquoi apprendre le latin?, (2) Comment apprendre le latin?, (3) L'expression des idées modernes et les périodiques en latin. Under (2) there is discussion of the stress that has been laid on aural and oral work in Latin, on discussion and dictation in Latin, with careful pronunciation, aiming to give the Latin, not the French vowels, syllabification according to etymology, as *red-emptor*, not *re-emptor*, correct accentuation and quantity. M. Midant notes the University's objection to carrying on dictation in Latin, and doubts the wisdom of pronouncing the vowels after the Roman fashion].

Rivista de Filosofia—July, Pitagoras, José Vasconcelos.

Rivista d'Italia—Aug. 15, Nerone e Lucano, C. Pascal [deals with Lucan and the Conspiracy of Piso].

Rivista Storica Italiana—Jan.-June, Cicerone Giureconsulto, Emilio Costa, reviewed by Silvio Pivano; Ibis, A. Rostagni, reviewed by F. Ramorino [a study of the Ibis of Ovid].

Romanic Review—April-June, The Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes, F. E. Guyer.

School and Society—Nov. 26, Formal Discipline Again, Benjamin E. James.

Scientific American—Nov., From Trireme to Dreadnaught, J. Bernard Walker [an account of the development of the warship].

Sewanee Review—Oct., The Charm of Greek Travel, W. W. Hyde; Some Latin Inscriptions, F. F. Abbott; Katharsis in Literature and in Life, Atherton Noyes; The Agamemnon of Aeschylus, translated by Gilbert Murray, reviewed by J. B. Edwards; Kostas Palamas, Poems of, translated by Aristides E. Phoutrides, reviewed by J. B. Edwards.

Studios: An Irish Quarterly Review—Sept., Homer and Babylon, Hermann Wirth, reviewed by J. J. C. ["systematizes, for the first time, in a popular-scientific manner, all that is of more or less accredited value for an understanding of the earliest interaction between the Greek and Semitic cultures . . . makes a good case for postulating a stronger Oriental influence on the Homeric poems than has been conceded heretofore"].

Syria, II—Phéniciens, Égécens et Hellènes dans la Méditerranée Primitive, R. Weill.

Weekly Review—Aug. 6, Teaching the Classics, La Rue Van Hook.

Western Pennsylvania Scholastic—Dec. 1, The Life of the Greek Boys in the Ancient Greek Schools, Henry S. Scribner.

Yale Review—Oct., From Plutarch to Strachey, Wilbur Cross [in dealing with modern biographies, the author goes back to Plutarch as a starting-point].

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